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F31

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00776 01 OF 05 181610Z  
ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B6

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/039W			

-----271AF4 181611Z /38

P 181555Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5772  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 KIGALI 00776

PARIS FOR PERLOW

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: HESITANT STEPS TOWARDS A GOVERNMENT

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00776 01 OF 05 181610Z  
RBFS: (A) KIGALI 0660, (B) STATE 034617,  
(C) KIGALI 0506

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: I OFFER BELOW A LONG SUMMATION OF STEPS  
TAKEN THIS WEEK TOWARD ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERIM  
INSTITUTIONS, THUS TO SET THE STAGE FOR  
RECOMMENDATIONS ON FURTHER INITIATIVES. UN-BROKERED  
DISCUSSIONS, POINTED TOWARDS INSTALLATION BROKE DOWN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 18 FEB 2015  
DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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IN ACRIMONY OVER THE WEEKEND. AFTER PARTIES COOLED OFF, WESTERN OBSERVERS BEGAN PICKING UP THE PIECES. I INVITED PARTY CHIEFS TO AN INFORMAL BREAKFAST. WESTERN COM'S MET WITH FACILITATOR TAMBWE AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (SRSG) BOOH BOOH FOR AN ASSESSMENT, THEN TALKED WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE FRONT AND PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE INVITED US TO AN ALL PARTIES MEETING THE NEXT MORNING BUT, WHEN MRND AND ANTI-RPF FACTIONS DID NOT SHOW UP, OBSERVERS BOWED OUT. PARTIES VENTED FEELINGS IN USEFUL CLOSED SESSION AFTERNOON 2/16. THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS

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B1

HAVE  
OPENED UP DIALOGUE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES AND BROUGHT ALL PARTIES CLOSER TO COMPROMISE. END SUMMARY.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

3. UN-BROKERED TALKS FAILED OVER THE WEEKEND TO BRING PARTIES TO AGREEMENT ON SETTING UP TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. ON MONDAY 2/14, POLITICIANS NURSED  
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00776 01 OF 05 181610Z  
EGOS BRUISED IN ACRIMONIOUS SUNDAY NIGHT DEBATE AND AVIDLY FOLLOWED REPORTS ON PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU'S COURT CASE (REF A). BELIEVING IT TIME FOR SOME CONFIDENCE BUILDING, I INVITED PARTY LEADERS TO BREAKFAST 2/15 TO HEAR VISITING CLERGYMAN MICHAEL CASSIDY DISCUSS HIS WORK IN RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. LEADERS OF ALL MAJOR PARTIES AND FACTIONS ACCEPTED THE INVITATION. DR. CASSIDY FRANKLY DETAILED CURRENT DIVISIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS AND DESCRIBED SOME SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO BRING LEADERS FROM POLITICALLY-DIVERGENT GROUPS TOGETHER. HE POINTEDLY AVOIDED REFERENCE TO RWANDAN PROBLEMS EXCEPT TO URGE THAT LEADERS KEEP THEIR "EYES ON THE PRIZE" OF THE NATION'S GOOD. SOME PARTY LEADERS MET PATRIOTIC FRONT'S MAZIMPAKA AND BIZIMUNGU FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THEIR ARRIVAL IN KIGALI. LIBERAL PARTY LEADERS MUGENZI AND LANDO STAYED FOR A LONG CONVERSATION ON THE LAWN AFTER OTHER GUESTS HAD LEFT. AS THEY DEPARTED, RPF LEADERS ASKED IF I COULD ARRANGE A MEETING WITH THE WESTERN OBSERVERS.

#### REVIEW OF WEEKEND DISCUSSIONS

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4. AT THE REQUEST OF WESTERN OBSERVERS, SRSG BOOH BOOH AND TANZANIAN FACILITATOR TAMBWE LATER MORNING 2/15 TOOK US THROUGH THE BYWAYS OF WEEKEND MEETINGS. IT SEEMS THAT, AFTER SOME HESITATION, THE MRND HAD PRESENTED BOOH BOOH WITH A REVISED EDITION OF "THEIR GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT" IN THE FORM OF A "SOLEMN DECLARATION" WHICH MRND WANTED ALL PARTIES TO SIGN BEFORE INSTALLATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. MUCH OF THE

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 00776 01 OF 05 181610Z  
DECLARATION WAS A REAFFIRMATION OF THE ARUSHA PRINCIPLES. IT ALSO CONTAINED PROVISIONS FOR GENERAL AMNESTY AND AN AGREEMENT THAT DECISIONS REGARDING TERRITORIAL AND CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION CONSTITUTE MATTERS OF "NATIONAL SECURITY" REQUIRING CONSENSUS IN GOVERNMENT COUNCIL. BOOH BOOH REPORTED THAT, IN HIS SATURDAY 2/12 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, THE PRESIDENT, WHILE NOT DEMANDING SPECIFICS ON AMNESTY, SEEMED PARTICULARLY ATTACHED TO THE IDEA OF THIS

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00776 02 OF 05 181612Z  
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	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/039W			

-----271B36 181612Z /38

P 181555Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5773 UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00776 02 OF 05 181612Z  
DECLARATION. BOOH BOOH FELT THAT IF THE DECLARATION  
WERE ACCEPTED, THE PRESIDENT WOULD IN TURN ACCEDE TO  
INSTALLATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, EVEN WITHOUT THE  
LIBERAL PARTY, SHOULD IT NOT BE ABLE TO PRESENT A  
COMMON LIST OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATES.

5. AT MRND'S REQUEST, BOOH BOOH PRESENTED THE  
DOCUMENT TO THE RPF, AND CALLED A MEETING FOR 3:00  
P.M. ON SUNDAY 2/13 TO NEGOTIATE THE DECLARATION AND  
REVIEW MODALITIES FOR AN INSTALLATION CEREMONY ON  
MONDAY 2/14. THE RPF ROUSTED BOOH BOOH OUT SUNDAY  
MORNING TO INFORM HIM THEY SAW NO NEED FOR A MEETING,  
SINCE, IN THEIR VIEW, PARTIES HAD ALREADY AGREED TO  
INSTALL THE GOVERNMENT ON MONDAY. LATER THAT  
MORNING, BOOH BOOH RECEIVED A CALL FROM THE PRIME  
MINISTER INSISTING THAT HE MEET WITH HER AND THE  
RPF TO ADDRESS THE MATTER. BOOH BOOH DEMURRED,  
INSISTING THAT ALL PARTIES COME TO 3:00 P.M.  
MEETING AS CONVENED. HE FINALLY, RELUCTANTLY, AGREED  
TO A DELAY UNTIL 5:00 P.M.

6. HOWEVER, AT THE 5:00 P.M. MEETING, THE MRND AND  
PL FACTIONS WERE NOT PRESENT, CLAIMING THEY HAD BEEN

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MISINFORMED AS TO TIME AND VENUE. BOOH BOOH TOLD RWANDAN LEADERS IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT HE WOULD NO LONGER BE PULLED AROUND BY THEIR VACILATING DEMANDS; RATHER, THEY SHOULD WORK OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THE DECLARATION AND WITHIN THE PARTIES, THEN LET HIM KNOW. IN FURTHER COMMENTARY ON THE WEEKEND EVENTS, AMBASSADOR TAMBWE NOTED THAT RWANDAN POLITICAL LEADERS WERE NOW ATTACKING BOOH

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00776 02 OF 05 181612Z  
BOOH AND VARIOUS AMBASSADORS FOR SUPPOSED FAVORITISM TOWARDS ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER IN THE CURRENT DEBATE.

7. IN A MEETING 2/14 WITH PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, BOOH BOOH URGED SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE DECLARATION, NOTING HOW DEMANDS FOR SUCH A GUARANTEE FROM HAITIAN MILITARY HAD BEEN REJECTED THUS STALLING DEMOCRATIZATION WITHIN THAT COUNTRY. THE PRIME MINISTER AGREED TO DISCUSS MRND'S CONCERNS WITH THEM ON 2/15. I INFORMED BOOH BOOH THAT PARTY LEADERS HAD ALL BEEN TOGETHER AT MY HOUSE THAT MORNING; THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THE PRIME MINISTER COULD NOT HAVE WORKED OUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN ALL PARTIES' MEETING. WE LEARNED LATER THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE CONVENED A MEETING OF HIS POLITICAL ALLIES BUT DID NOT MEET WITH MRND.

RPF'S POSITION

8. EVEN THOUGH THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR COULD NOT ATTEND, THE RPF INSISTED ON SEEING WESTERN OBSERVERS AT 4:00 P.M. 2/15. THEY REITERATED THEIR BELIEF THAT THE "SOLEMN DECLARATION" MIGHT PORTRAY THE TRUE CONCERNS OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRND. THEY WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS THESE CONCERNS IF THEY DID NOT CONTRAVENE THE PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND CODE OF ETHICS, WHICH PARTIES HAD ALREADY SIGNED, AND, IF THE MRND WOULD GIVE ASSURANCES THAT ALL OTHER MATTERS WOULD BE PUT ASIDE. RPF ALSO WANTED TO INFORM OBSERVERS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE CONVENING A MEETING OF ALL PARTIES THE NEXT MORNING

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9. I ASKED IF THE UN WOULD BE PRESENT. MAZIMPAKA  
RESPONDED THAT BOOH BOOH ON SUNDAY NIGHT HAD BEEN

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED  
THAT THE UN AT LEAST BE INVITED AND QUERIED WHETHER  
ALL PARTIES AND FACTIONS WOULD BE REPRESENTED. THE  
RPF SAID THEY HAD ALL BEEN INVITED AND SHOULD BE  
THERE. THE RPF WOULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT AS TO

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00776 03 OF 05 181614Z  
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-----271B92 181614Z /38

P 181555Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5774  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 KIGALI 00776

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00776 03 OF 05 181614Z  
POSITIONS THEY MIGHT TAKE REGARDING AMNESTY OR OTHER  
PROVISIONS IN THE "DECLARATION," SAYING THEY WOULD  
HAVE TO AWAIT DETERMINATION OF WHETHER THE  
"DECLARATION" WAS THE ONLY ISSUE AT STAKE. I NOTED  
THAT THE MRND COULD HARDLY ANSWER FOR OTHER PARTIES  
ON OUTSTANDING DISPUTES IN THEIR RANKS, BUT THE RPF  
WOULD NOT FURTHER ELABORATE ON THESE INTRA-PARTY  
DISPUTES.

10. COMMENT: IN CONVERSATION TWO DAYS EARLIER, I  
LEARNED THAT THE RPF HAD INFORMED NONGOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANIZATIONS (NGOS) THAT THEY STILL FIRMLY SUPPORTED  
THE ORIGINAL ELECTED "LANDO" LIST FOR THE LIBERAL  
PARTY AND WOULD NEVER ACCEPT A COMPROMISE ON THAT  
PRINCIPLE. THIS IS CONTRARY TO RPF ASSURANCES TO DAS  
BUSHNELL IN WASHINGTON AND TO THE WESTERN OBSERVERS  
ON 2/8 (REFS B AND C). SINCE A SINGLE PL LIST HAS  
NOT YET EMERGED, WE CANNOT TEST THE RPF'S FINAL  
POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. END COMMENT.

PRIME MINISTER'S INITIATIVE

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B1

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B1

[REDACTED] I ALSO  
CALLED THE PRIME MINISTER TO INSIST THAT THE UN BE  
PRESENT AND TALKED TO THE MRND TO MAKE SURE THEY KNEW  
OBSERVERS WERE TO BE AT THE MEETING.

12. WHAT THE MORNING BROUGHT WAS A GATHERING OF THE  
PRIME MINISTER'S ALLIES. THERE WERE NO  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MDR, OTHER THAN THE TWO PRIME  
MINISTERS, NOR OF MRND; PL MUGENZI WAS ABSENT.  
ALTHOUGH OBSERVERS HAD REQUESTED NO MEDIA COVERAGE SO  
PARTIES COULD GET RIGHT TO BUSINESS, A TV CREW SHOWED  
UP. WHEN PARTY LEADERS CALLED FOR A DECLARATION  
CONDEMNING OTHERS FOR NOT BEING THERE, RPF MAZIMPAKA  
SAID THE PURPOSE WAS TO MEET WITH AND HEAR OUT THE  
MRND, NOT CONFRONT THEM WITH PUBLIC STATEMENTS. I  
QUICKLY SUPPORTED MAZIMPAKA'S POSITION, SAYING THAT  
IT WAS TIME FOR PEOPLE TO MEET AND DISCUSS ISSUES,  
NOT MAKE DECLARATIONS. I THEN RECOMMENDED AN ARUSHA  
FORMULA IN WHICH RWANDANS WOULD MEET TOGETHER TO MULL  
OVER ISSUES AND THEN CALL ON OBSERVERS AS THEY MIGHT  
HAVE NEED OF THEIR PRESENCE. I UNDERScoreD THE  
OBSERVERS' WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT ANY DISCUSSIONS  
THAT INCLUDED ALL PARTIES.

COULD THE PRESIDENT TURN IT AROUND?  
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13. IN A LONG CONVERSATION LATER THAT MORNING,  
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL CABINET RUHIGIRA TOLD ME,  
WITH REGARD TO THE "SOLEMN DECISION," THAT ALL THE  
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 00776 03 OF 05 181614Z  
MRND WANTED WAS SOME ASSURANCES THAT THE ARUSHA GAME  
WOULD BE PLAYED STRAIGHT AND A GENERAL AMNESTY TO  
CLEAR RECORDS ON THOSE WHO MIGHT SERVE IN TRANSITION  
INSTITUTIONS WHILE STILL UNDER CRIMINAL PENALTY. HE  
WAS NOT SURE WHERE THINGS STOOD ON THE PL  
NEGOTIATIONS, BUT BELIEVED DIVISIONS WITHIN THE MDR  
TO BE SERIOUS AND FUNDAMENTAL. I NOTED THAT THE  
IMPASSE APPEARED MUCH AS IT DID A MONTH AGO, WITH THE  
NEW ADDITION OF MRND'S REQUEST FOR A SOLEMN

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00776 04 OF 05 181616Z  
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-----271BD6 181616Z /38

P 181555Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5775  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00776 04 OF 05 181616Z  
DECLARATION. THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTION OF THE  
BISHOP'S SOLUTION AS A COMPROMISE POSITION WAS THE  
SAME SUGGESTION HE HAD MADE AT MY CREDENTIALS  
PRESENTATION ON JANUARY 8. IF THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT  
MOVED IN MONTH'S TIME, NEITHER HAD THE OTHER SIDES.  
MEANWHILE THE CLOCK WAS TICKING.

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14. EVEN THOUGH I RECOGNIZED THE SERIOUSNESS OF  
ISSUES AT STAKE, I ARGUED THAT RWANDANS DID NOT HAVE  
THE LUXURY OF TIME TO WORK OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES.  
RWANDA HAD OVER PAST 30 YEARS GAINED A LARGE DEGREE  
OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT AND RECOGNITION FOR ITS  
SOLID RECORD OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FISCAL PROBITY,  
MODERATION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, AND TRANSITION TO  
POLITICAL PLURALISM. BUT THE RWANDAN POLITICAL ELITE  
WAS RAPIDLY WASTING THAT INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT ON  
THEIR OWN PERSONAL INTERESTS. I INFORMED THE CABINET  
DIRECTOR THAT I WOULD THAT AFTERNOON HAVE TO TELL  
UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE THAT WE COULD NOT  
SUBSTANTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THE ROUNDTABLE IF THERE  
WERE NOT A GOVERNMENT IN PLACE. THE PRESIDENT NEEDED  
TO TAKE COURAGEOUS STEPS TO MOVE THIS SITUATION  
FORWARD.

B1

FURTHER MEETINGS

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00776 04 OF 05 181616Z  
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15. POLITICAL PARTIES DID FINALLY MEET IN CLOSED  
SESSION AFTERNOON 2/16. PM-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU,  
BRIEFING OBSERVERS 2/17, REPORTED THAT THE PATRIOTIC  
FRONT HAD TORN APART MRND'S PRESENTATION OF THE  
"DECLARATION" WHILE ATTEMPTING TO DEMONSTRATE THAT  
ALL MRND'S CONCERNS HAD BEEN COVERED IN THE ARUSHA  
TALKS. OTHER PARTIES, HOWEVER, FOUND SOME VALIDITY  
IN THE DOCUMENT'S MAIN POINTS: RESPECT FOR  
TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS, POLITICAL NEUTRALITY OF THE  
ADMINISTRATION, AND THE NEED FOR GENERAL AMNESTY.

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DISCUSSION THEN REVERTED TO PROBLEMS BEHIND THESE CONCERNS. IT WAS GENERALLY AGREED THAT POLITICIANS MUST OVERCOME THE ATMOSPHERE OF DISTRUST THAT PERMEATES THE CURRENT POLITICAL CULTURE IN KIGALI. THE MEETING ENDED WITH AN ATTEMPT TO SET A DATE FOR INSTALLATION OF INSTITUTIONS. PRESIDENT'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET, RUHIGIRA, HELD OFF ALL CONTENDERS FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF INSISTING THAT DISPUTES WITHIN PARTIES HAD TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE A DATE COULD BE ESTABLISHED. AN ALL PARTIES' MEETING 2/18 IS TO DISCUSS INTRA-PARTY ISSUES.

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16. IN A MEETING WITH OBSERVERS 2/18, SRSG BOOH BOOH REPORTED THAT, IN SPITE OF CONFRONTATIONAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS, LIBERAL PARTY MUGENZI AND LANDO WERE AGAIN MEETING WITH THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR TO WORK OUT A DEAL.

B1

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 00776 04 OF 05 181616Z  
[REDACTED] HE URGED OBSERVERS TO DO  
EVERYTHING THEY COULD TO PRESSURE PARTIES TOWARD A  
SOLUTION.

COMMENT

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B1

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00776 05 OF 05 181617Z

B1

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B1

IMPORTANTLY, PARTIES HAVE NOW CONFRONTED FUNDAMENTAL  
ISSUES OF DISTRUST AND ENMITY THAT KEEP THEM FROM  
COMPROMISE AND BLOCK INSTALLATION OF TRANSITIONAL  
INSTITUTIONS. THE PACE OF CONTACT IN FORMAL MEETINGS  
AND CORRIDORS HAS ACCELERATED. WE MIGHT BE LOOKING  
AT THE FINAL STEPS IN THIS JOURNEY TOWARD A  
TRANSITION REGIME. HOPEFULLY, THE VISIT OF BELGIUM'S  
FOREIGN MINISTER AND MINISTER OF COOPERATION WILL  
PUSH ALL PARTIES TOWARD A NEW POLITICAL LIFE  
TOGETHER. RAWSON

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